

Eugene V. Deb's

Unions Never Can Win Out

We often hear unionists say "If every workingman belonged to a union and would be loyal to their organizations in time of trouble, we could make the capitalists come to time." Let us see if they are right. Suppose every working man in the United States would join the union of his craft, and steadfastly refuse to scab. Would that settle the labor question? Would that bring victory to organized labor? Not in a thousand years. On the contrary, unreasonable though it may seem to the average union man, that would make matters infinitely worse for organized labor. In fact, it would deal the death blow to "pure and simple" unionism, and precipitate the industrial revolution.

Suppose tomorrow every working man joins the union of his craft, and that all the unions of the country are welded into one complete federation, which is the dream of all progressive unionists. There are today approximately one million idle men. The fact that they entered the unions would not put them to work, since all the jobs are filled. They and their families must live, and to prevent them from going to work at whatever wages they can get—to prevent them from scabbing—they and their families must be provided with at least enough for their daily existence. If this is not done, their admission into the union is a farce, for they will be compelled to continue their former practice of taking any job and wages they can get. Is the organization going to take upon itself the burden of maintaining day after day these million men and their families? How long would their treasury hold out? The very question is enough. It may be contended that the men who were working could be assessed a portion of their wages to maintain a fund for this purpose. Very well; but that would decrease their income, thereby lowering to that extent the union scale. The greater the number of unemployed, the greater proportion of their wages those working would have to give up, and consequently the lower the general scale of union wages. Thus the principle aim of unionism—high wages—would be defeated by unionism itself.

But this is not all the trouble that would result from an "universal" union. In case of a strike, if all the workers were loyal, the situation would be simply this: either the men would stay out until they got hungry, when the organization would go utterly to pieces, or the capitalists, not being able to operate their business with scab labor, would resort to the militia and the bull ben all over the country—and then the revolution. The essential principle of unionism repudiates the idea of a universal union. That principle is: under the capitalist system, where there is always a considerable percentage of idle workers, the unions succeed at the expense of the workers who are not in the unions. If a union is successful, it simply means that it has made a compact with employers whereby the employers will hire none but union labor, or, that they will not hire non-union labor. Right here the non-union workers are placed at a disadvantage in the struggle for jobs, and the union workers get their jobs and high wages at the non-unionists expense. In our present situation of two men for every job, in proportion as the unions go up the non-unionists go down.

We can see also that the most successful union is the one that numbers no more members than can find employment. Unions cannot create jobs for their members; all they can possibly do is to fill the existing jobs; their union is weakened thereby, since an idle unionist is under constant pressure (through his stomach) to become a scab.

Union men should not long for all the toilers in the land to enlist under the banner of organized labor, unless they wish to see union wages and fair conditions pulled down to the level of the unorganized workers, and in the hour of stress the whole structure of the movement to fall down upon their heads.

There is another truth that stands out in bold relief, and stares every intelligent union man in the face. It is, that a union card is a good thing for the man with a job, but to a man who is permanently out of employment, it is not worth its ink. This is enough to demonstrate the insufficiency of trades unionism to materially improve the condition of even those within it. An organization that cannot guarantee a job to every member is weak at the very point where it should be strongest. The job is the workers' means of existence, and an organization that does not control the job is superficial, and will disappear as the job disappears.

Union men, the thing to do is to own the jobs. Then the industrial fight is won. Strikes are forever abolished. There is then no chance for men to scab. In the Socialist republic we ourselves will determine the conditions under which we shall work, and instead of union wages we will take the whole product of our toil.

T. P. HUGHES.

State Secretary Imbued With Butteism Scores All Others

Butte, Montana, August 14, 1904.

Mr. J. H. Walsh, Helena, Montana,

Dear Comrade:—

Yours of August 11th I have concluded to answer further not that I want to quarrel or make any further fuss. But since I received yours I received one from Mrs. Hazlett and it makes me feel a little cross ways to have Butte found fault with. I haven't seen any wings sprouting on any Butte comrade but I believe there is some very good men amongst them, even if they do not take the Montana News, and if the balance of the state put up as much, or delighted themselves as much for Socialism as the Butte comrades, the News or anything even Socialistic, would not want any jacking-up. We sure have some dead ones in Butte, but I assure you that it is not going to do any good for any one in Helena or the southeastern part of this state to call us dead ones or any other name.

Now Butte brought Mrs. Hazlett here, as good an exponent of Socialism as ever trod the state, and the dead ones of Helena gave her the enormous sum of \$3.60 for speaking to a large crowd for an hour and a half and held their attention and the crowd put up \$6.70; large crowd \$6.70; large crowd \$6.70, and she got \$3.60, and then talk about dead ones in Butte. Now when the state committee were talking about this trip that she is on they instructed me to charge Helena and Great Falls \$10 for one night, \$15 for two and \$20 for three, because they were large towns, I told them that they had better make one flat rate for each town and if there was any thing left after paying her wages and expenses to send her to the place that seemed to want her most. I followed the state committee's instructions to the letter and I wrote Helena about the matter and never heard from them.

Now I think it is about time for residents of Helena to quit talking about dead ones; get to work and do something for Socialism.

Now Mr. Walsh, kindly remember one thing; that Butte might be chuck full of live Socialists and not one copy of the News come here. It is up to you to make the News a paper that they will all want; of course I know that the Socialists of this state should support one paper, and so far as I am concerned, would as soon it would be the News as any other, and a little rather; am anxious the state should support at least one Socialist paper, a Van, an a No. 1 speaker and an organizer, and all the other things that go with these things mentioned. But it will never come about

Speech at Indianapolis Sept. 1 will be the feature of the News Next Week. We have made arrangements for the speech in full. The News will be published couple days late in order that the Comrades may have it for distribution on Labor Day. Send in Your Orders at Once! Don't Delay!! In Bundles 2 cents per copy. Greatest Propaganda Document.



as long as the comrades of one town shout dead ones or complain of sharp practice against the comrades of another town.

When we get down to business and are really comrades, not only forget about our town, but ourselves, and work for Socialism. Then we can call each other comrades, and Socialism will thrive. But if when we do a noble act, we get upon some high place and shout, there! see what I have done; why don't the Socialists of Butte or Helena or any other place do as well?

Now one more word about the paper. I will endeavor to keep my subscription paid up, but remember one thing that I am poor and depend on wages to live, and if times get so hard that I cannot pay for it and still can squeeze out a dollar for propaganda in some other way, that I am not dead. I know of several Butte comrades who are giving \$5 per month for propaganda, that I think are not taking the News; good men too; they have to earn every dollar by hard knocks and are trying to make their dollars go as far as possible.

Now about Mills and high prices; he has said that he was going through the state, makes what I claim is a fair proposition. If any of the locals want him at that figure all right. But if he gets no dates in Montana and ever asks me, I will answer him truthfully, that the price was too high, and will also tell him it is no way to rush through a state on a star route.

So I don't think it is best to fight the proposition. If he comes through without dates in Montana and finds that no one has been knocking, will lay it to other things and will never know the real cause.

With regard to the candidates hustling into the field, I will show this to the chairman of the state committee and if he and they see fit to act on this suggestion all right; but remember that there is no executive power given to the state secretary, and the more I see of it, the more I think there should not be.

Now Comrade Walsh don't get angry at me for this letter. I want to be a comrade to every Socialist in the state. But I do hate knocking, fault finding and back-biting so. I am for Socialism regardless of the dead ones in Butte, Helena or any other place. The world is my country and Socialism is my greatest ambition. Yours for Socialism, WM. H. PIERCE.

Cut Out This Duplicate; Send \$10 and Help Out.

Certificate of Share

Helena, Montana, 1904.

This Certificate of Stock is issued to..... for the sum of \$10.00, non-assessable and non-interest bearing for the purpose of securing a Paper Press to be installed in the Montana News office, and to be the property of the stock holders until such time as all stock has been canceled by cash payment. Provided, that no share of stock shall be transferable, and shall be numbered consecutively as sold, and paid in the same manner, and that not more than one hundred and fifty shares shall be sold for the said purpose of paying for, and installing a Power Paper Press complete. This share shall be considered a lien for the sum of \$10.00 upon the said press until the same is canceled by payment in cash.

The MONTANA NEWS
Per.....Manager

The International Socialist Review

The opening article in the August International Socialist Review by Ernest Unterman on "The Ethics of Historical Materialism" is one of the most suggestive and instructive discussions of Socialist philosophy that has appeared for some time. It shows that the ethical foundation of Socialism is based on a much firmer foundation than is commonly realized. Algernon Lee gives a sharp clear reply to Robert R. LaMonte's attack on the trade union policy of the Socialist party, showing that the unions are a present fact which must be dealt with and cannot be theorized away. The second installment of the articles on "Industrial Concentration in the United States" by A. M. and May Wood Simons, covers the period of the civil war, and presents for the first time in printed form the industrial side and results of the great struggle, showing its importance in the formative period of American capitalism. In a somewhat lighter vein than most of the contents of the International Socialist Review is the first series of "Letters from a Pork Packer's Stenographer." In a sharp entertaining and chatty manner the inside workings of the great meat trust are laid bare. This is especially timely in view of the great strike of the packing house employees. There are numerous other articles dealing with subjects bearing of Socialist philosophy and tactics, together with the usual departments on the World of Labor (in which Max S. Hayes gives the labor record of the presidential candidates) Socialism Abroad, book reviews, etc.—Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, \$1.00 a year, 10 cts. a copy.

Butte Local No. 1, Socialist Party, meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at 121 North Main street, in main hall. Butte Women's Socialist Guild meets at same time and place, in front hall.

Boycott on Meat Extends to Helena

Headquarters Helena Trades and Labor Assembly, Helena, Montana.

Whereas, Since the organization of the meat trust the prices of meat to the consumer have been increased to a figure that is prohibitive to the poor and added burden to every laborer no matter how prosperous he may be; and on the other hand, the prices of live stock to the producer have been cut almost in half, so that the meat trust is annually making added millions of dollars by taking them from the legitimate price of live stock, and is adding other millions of dollars to its profits annually by taxing the consumer and adding an unreasonable price. The meat trust, by virtue of its monopolistic position, being the exclusive buyer and the exclusive seller, is robbing the people of many millions of dollars annually—money that it has no moral or legal right to—and notwithstanding this fact, it now rapaciously demands still other added dollars of profit that are to be secured by a reduction of the wages of its employees. And,

Whereas, The affiliated packing house unions have been compelled to strike against a reduction of wages and unjust treatment, and all efforts made by the labor unions involved to secure a fair arbitrament have proved fruitless, and have been met with the assertion from the trust packing houses, that the fight is on and that there would be no compromise and that the finish would be the destruction of the unions. To the end that every union man may assist his union brother who is contending with this gigantic robber trust for a just wage and for just treatment and decent conditions in which to labor, it is hereby,

Resolved, By the Helena Trades and Labor Assembly that all members of labor unions affiliated with it shall from this date refrain from using and decline to purchase any of the products of:

Armour & Co., Cudahy & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., who form the meat trust and who are shippers of fresh; dressed, preserved and canned meats of all kinds, candles and soaps, the latter brands being:

Light House Soap, Diamond C Soap, Swift's Pride Soap, the state being districted by the trust and one of the above soaps allotted to each district. And it is further,

Resolved, That all labor union men be requested and earnestly urged to demand and use,

Perry's White Rosebud Soap, manufactured in the City of Helena and which is the only union made soap offered in the local market.

Dated at Helena, Montana, the third day of August, nineteen hundred and four.

FRANK ANDREWS, Pres.
W. W. HILLIS, Sec.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT DATES

Hamilton 22nd, 23rd, 24th.
Stevensville 26.
Missoula 27-29.
Bonner 30-31.
Butte Sept 1-4.
Basin Sept 5, Labor Day.
Butte Sept. 6 to 30 inclusive. Exodus XIII: 8.

Beginning with the next issue Franklin H. Wentworth, one of the most brilliant Socialist writers of this country, will become a regular contributor of The Comrade. He will write a monthly review of current events. Those who remember Comrade Wentworth's splendid work in the Socialist Spirit will know that this review promises to be a very interesting feature of future issues of The Comrade.